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obligation of the sons to find him and help him home. Fathers may experience some shame, primarily because of the fear that they may not have behaved well while drunk.

The relations of a father with his daughters are not very different from his relations with his sons. Although fathers prefer to have sons to daughters, favoritism toward a daughter is not uncommon. As the son grows older and is able to work in the fields, his contacts with his father become more frequent, but those with the older daughter become more distant and formal. Physical contact between father and daughter is even more avoided, and kissing or embracing has strong incestuous connotations. Young girls are often extremely shy in the presence of their fathers, and married women have stated that they were embarrassed to be seen by their fathers when pregnant.

Fathers expect their daughters to avoid all contact with the opposite sex and to be virgins until marriage. Any trespass against this is taken to be a blow against his honor and that of the family, and incurs his most severe punishment. A father sometimes forces a wayward daughter to leave home or does not speak to her for several years. Girls are very fearful of their father's attitude in this, but nevertheless almost always have a secret sweetheart. Although Tepoztecans explain the father's wrath as jealousy, what is meant is jealousy of his respect status rather than jealousy of his daughter's lover. The lover is considered so lacking in respect for the father that he dares to flaunt the father's will. A rich man is doubly outraged and will often go to great expense and trouble to punish the boy.

Grown daughters may take over their mother's duties in serving the father, and sometimes strong ties of affection between father and daughter develop as a result. There are many cases of fathers favoring their eldest daughter and secretly providing her with gifts because of her devotion in serving him. This is particularly true of a widower whose eldest daughter fills the place of the deceased mother. Incest between father and daughter is not infrequently suspected in such a situation.

In one case, a widower lived alone with his nineteen-year-old daughter, who did all the work of a wife. The daughter had the reputation of being *loca* and having had many *novios* when younger. After the death of her mother, she no longer had *novios* and kept to the house. Her father dressed her well and gave her all the money she wanted, and people began to suspect them of having incestuous relations. A neighbor claimed to have seen them in the act of sexual intercourse and reported that the girl was pregnant. One day she saw the girl bury something in the corral and notified the authorities, who found that it was the fetus of a child. The girl was sentenced to prison for one year, but her father, who was prosperous, sold some animals and bought her freedom. His solicitude in bringing her food and in arranging for her release contrasted sharply with the traditional fury of the father at a wayward daughter, and was taken to be further evidence of their illicit relations.

Although it is believed that it is the duty of the children to take care of the father when he can no longer work, there is a widespread feeling that children cannot be relied on, and that death is preferable to a dependent old age.

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593 appeal to their parents for justice, but younger ones always go to parents with complaints and tales about the others. Even when all the children are grown, this pattern of the younger telling tales continues. Children tell the parents when an older brother smokes, plays billiards, stays out of school to play, and so on. Parents frequently use younger children to spy on older ones and especially as chaperones for grown daughters.

[867] The general pattern of male dominance is learned by boys from their fathers and is first put into practice in the boys' relationships with their sisters. As soon as a [514] sister is old enough to do housework and chores, the brother begins to put demands upon her, just as the father does upon his wife. A sister is expected to serve her brothers by washing, ironing, and mending their clothes, by preparing and serving their food, and in other little ways. A brother may ask his sister to run errands or to take notes to a *novia*. But a sister will never have her brother act as an intermediary in her private affairs. On the contrary, sisters try to conceal their own relations with boys for fear of offending and angering their brothers. Brothers assume the role of protectors of their sisters' reputation and morality, and a brother may beat his sister if he finds her with a boy. But sisters do manage to get information about boys from their brothers.

[835] Data on the sexual relations between brothers and sisters are very difficult to obtain since this is one of the strong taboo relations. But there is some evidence that sexual relations sometimes occur. Parents do not like to leave an adolescent daughter alone at home with grown brothers. In one case, a widow with two grown daughters and one grown son locked the girls in the house and required the son to sleep outside when she had to leave the house at night.

Siblings of the same sex tend to associate more than siblings of the opposite sex. Brothers work in the fields together, share confidences, and may have the same friends, particularly when there is no great age difference between them. This pattern is even stronger in the case of sisters. Grown brothers and sisters do not participate together in public affairs, do not have mutual friends, and are reserved toward one another in public.

578 This picture of sibling relations would not be complete without mention of the
593 fact that in many families there are quarrels and resentments. Most of these result from favoritism on the part of the parents. Boys are generally favored over girls, the first-born son and the last born or *coco* are favored over the other children. Favoritism may be expressed in the unequal distribution of food and clothing, the celebration of the birthdays of one child and not another, the greater attention given to the favored one when ill or injured, and a greater leniency in punishing. The resentment of the children to this treatment finds expression in surreptitious quarreling, fighting, irritability, unwillingness to share possessions, and an avoidance of one another.

593 After marriage there are a number of factors which further weaken the ties be-
[470] tween siblings. Each sibling sets up an independent household and there are practically no institutionalized forms of cooperation between married brothers or sisters.

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her mother, and may have looked to marriage as an escape from work and supervision. When, after marriage, she finds herself working even harder for the family of her husband under the sharp, critical eye of her mother-in-law, the situation is one of jumping into the frying pan to be saved from the fire. The young wife today is more mature and more skilled than the child-wife of thirty years ago and no longer needs the mother-in-law's teaching and guidance.

Certain differences between the older and younger generation also affect mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relations. The mother-in-law, whose generation suffered the acute privation and misery of the Revolution and learned to live in the utmost economy, expects of her daughter-in-law a self-denial and economy for which the young woman is not always prepared. Often after marriage the young wife finds that she has fewer dresses and shoes, goes out much less to fiestas, to Cuernavaca, or to the movies. Many young women have learned to bathe three or four times a week and to change clothing whenever soiled, much to the annoyance of their mothers-in-law who must provide the soap and clothing.

In one case a mother-in-law scolded her daughter-in-law for this and said, "What difference is it to you if your dress is a little dirty. Is it for a lover that you are keeping yourself so clean?" Many young women have now become accustomed to using face powder, lipstick, cold cream, toothpaste, and fine soap, the use of which is considered distasteful and extravagant by the mother-in-law and discontinued after marriage. Many of the younger married women chafe over the restraints placed upon their personal movements, their friendships, and, of course, their right to go out unaccompanied. The slow but steady increase in the freedom of the younger women, particularly of those who have spent several years in school, makes the role of the daughter-in-law more difficult.

The way out of an unpleasant relationship for both the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law is to separate their households. Usually the young couple move out, but occasionally the old couple or the widowed mother-in-law will move away. If no other dwelling is available, separate households may be established in the same house site, with each family cooking over its own fire and carrying on its economic affairs independently. Sometimes the wife is unable to persuade her husband to move away or to convince him that she is not at fault, and is forced to continue to live with her mother-in-law. Not infrequently, if the situation becomes too intolerable, the young wife will separate from her husband and return to the home of her parents. It is believed in the village that many marriages have been broken because the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law did not get on well together.

Father-in-law and daughter-in-law relations are generally similar to father-daughter relations, only more reserved. When the daughter-in-law lives in the same household, she serves the father-in-law under the direction of the mother-in-law; beyond that, contacts between the two are generally few because the men spend a good deal of time away from home. A few cases of incestuous relations between daughter-in-law and father-in-law have been reported. In each of these cases the father was a widower, and the indiscretion caused deep family rifts.